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ABSTRACT

A study investigated gender stereotypes in photographs of female and male athletes, noting differences in the way the two genders are depicted in photographs taken by the Associated Press (AP) and also in photos chosen by newspaper editors. Every photograph sent by AP from the 1987 Wimbledon tennis tournament to one Texas newspaper was coded in four different ways: whether the subject was male or female, whether or not emotion was revealed in the subject's face, whether the subject was in a vulnerable position, and whether the photograph depicted the entire body of the subject. Photos used by eight newspapers were examined using the same coding procedures. Findings showed that the male tennis players in the AP photographs were shown with emotional facial expressions significantly more often than women. Photographs run by the eight newspapers in the study, however, showed no difference between male and female tennis players on the emotion variable. Also, while the AP photos produced no significant differences on the vulnerability variable, the newspaper photos depicted female athletes in vulnerable positions more often than male athletes. Finally, both the AP and newspaper photos concentrated on the faces of women and the bodies of men. The overall results of the study suggest that while photographers do not seem to be reinforcing gender stereotypes, sports editors may be doing so. (Four copies of photographs, 7 tables, and 22 references are appended). (ARH)

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Gender Stereotypes in Sports Photographs

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Gender Stereotypes in Sports Photographs

In 1965, the President's Commission of the Status on Women criticized all mass media for projecting an image of women that "contains only myths, misconceptions and even distortions" (Mead, 1965). Despite the criticism, distorted images of women continued in such areas as television programming (Katzman, 1972) and advertising (Dominick and Rauch, 1972). Tuchman et al. (1978), in fact, described the media's portrayals of women as "symbolic annihilation."

Distorted images of any group can have far-ranging consequences. The mass media not only deal in symbols, but also can disseminate a single message to mass audiences. An inaccurate symbol could denigrate individuals in the eyes of the mass audience. The media, furthermore, could encourage their audiences to engage in gender stereotyping by reinforcing distorted images through the messages they transmit.

Many areas in the mass media where gender distortions could emerge, however, have not been explored as yet. One such area is sports journalism -- in particular, sports photography.

Sports is a likely setting for distorted images of women. Women are under-represented in sports sections.

For example, a study of six Texas daily newspapers found women received only between 6 and 11 percent of all sports coverage (Miller, 1983), though a survey of coaches and media representatives revealed that the majority would like to see an increase in women's sports coverage (Lacy, 1979)..

Logically, the quality as well as the quantity of coverage on the sports page may well differ significantly due to the gender of the athlete.

Sports photography likewise seems ideally suited to a study of gender stereotypes. Readership of pictures is high in comparison to other elements of a newspaper (Woodburn, 1947).

This study will examine differences in the depictions of female and male athletes in photographs in two ways. First, photos the Associated Press sent over the laserphoto wire during the 1987 Wimbledon tennis tournament will be examined for differences in the portrayal of athletes of the two genders. Second, photographs used by eight newspapers during the same tournament will similarly be examined.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Many studies have examined differences in the depictions of males and females in the mass media. Miller (1975), for instance, discovered differences in both quantity and quality of photographs of males and females in the Washington Post and Los Angeles Times. He found that 81 percent of all

photos run by the two newspapers in 1973 and 1974 were of males, most of whom were represented in professional roles. One-fourth of all females pictured in the two newspapers, on the other hand, were brides.

Advertising researchers also have discovered quantitative differences in the depictions of the sexes. Welch et al. (1979), for example, found that the majority of spokespersons for products in commercials were male, even though males are not necessarily more persuasive than females.

While males dominate the quantity of mass media coverage in a number of areas, the quality of the depictions of the sexes also differs. From a review of the literature in this area, males often have been found to be depicted differently from females in the mass media on three general variables: emotion, vulnerability and power. The three variables, based on specific stereotypes attributed to the two genders, form the basis of this study.

* Emotion. The most common stereotype found in the depictions of males and females in the mass media is the portrayal of women as being more emotional than men. Busby (1975), for example, found that television programs aimed at children showed men less emotional than women. She concludes that children are thus socialized into believing that women are expected to be emotional, while men are expected to be inexpressive. Balswick and Peek (1971) similarly suggest

that male inexpressiveness is a culturally produced trait which boys simply learn as the major characteristic of their anticipated adult masculinity.

Sattel (1983), on the other hand, believes researchers have been too narrow in examining this stereotype. Sattel has criticized researchers for narrowly concentrating on inexpressiveness as a personality trait of men. He suggests, however, that males use their inexpressiveness as a method for achieving control in both male-female and male-male interaction. To Sattel, emotion and submissiveness go hand in hand.

Assuming the same emotional stereotype of women would be reproduced on the sports page, the first hypothesis is:

- H1: Female tennis players will be depicted in emotional states more often than male tennis players.

Pliner et al. (1979), in noting the difficulty in describing the concept of emotion, defined emotion rather narrowly as either elation or depression. Emotion, however, is more than these two ideas. An athlete could show emotion through many other expressions of excitement in the heat of competition. For the purposes of this study, an athlete showing emotion will be depicted as being surprised, agitated, grimacing or showing some sort of excited or distorted facial expression.

* Vulnerability. Another common stereotype found in the depictions of males and females in the mass media is the portrayal of women as being more vulnerable than men. Previous studies have concentrated on examining the stereotype of female submissiveness. However, sports photographs offer the opportunity to go beyond submissiveness. Female athletes also could be portrayed as struggling or in poses implying defeat, hence the extension of the concept of submissiveness to vulnerability.

Besides finding women being portrayed as being more emotional than men, Busby (1975) also found that women were depicted as being more submissive. She concludes that males are associated with more worldly roles and dominance.

Venkatesan and Losco (1975), in examining magazine advertisements, found females were depicted most frequently in roles that emphasized their physical beauty and depicted them as sex objects or as dependent upon a male. Benze and Declercq (1985), in their study of political advertising, found that male candidates stressed toughness in their ads while female candidates emphasized their compassion and warmth.

Goffman (1976) discovered differences between the sexes in magazine and newspaper photographs. He found that females frequently were shown in prostrate positions, giving the impression of submissiveness, while males were often shown in elevated positions above a female who helplessly accepted his

dominance. Moreover, Goffman argues that the press depicts women as being submissive by portraying them as being weaker and easily dominated.

Therefore, based on previous studies, the second hypothesis is:

H2: Female tennis players will be depicted in vulnerable positions more often than male tennis players.

If Goffman's ideas are used as guide, sports photos could show women in vulnerable positions two ways. First, an athlete could be shown as vulnerable if she or he is shown as struggling, overpowered or out of control. An athlete diving out of control to reach the ball would imply vulnerability. Second, an athlete could be shown as being vulnerable if he or she is shown in a pose implying defeat. An athlete frowning after missing a shot would imply vulnerability.

* Power. A third stereotype found in the depictions of males and females in the mass media is the portrayal of men as being more powerful than women.

Tedesco (1974), for example, found that male characters in prime-time television programming were more likely than females to be depicted as powerful, smart, rational and stable. Females, on the other hand, were shown to be more attractive, sociable, warm, happy and peaceful than males.

Goffman (1976) also found that advertisements give the impression of male dominance by concentrating on men's faces

and women's bodies. According to Goffman, since social weight is determined through relative size, a larger face implies more social power.

Wex (1979) believes social forces cause this male "face-ism" notion. She suggests a woman is persuaded to draw attention to her body, diverting attention from her personality.

This "face-ism" concept, however, does not hold true in all cases. Sparks and Fehlner (1986), for example, in examining photographs during the 1984 election in Time and Newsweek, found no differences in photographs of female and male candidates. Their secondary analysis of photographs of entertainers and actresses, however, did support a "face-ism" effect for men. They suggest framing may vary by occupation.

Based on the notion that the size of a person's face in a photograph gives impressions of power to readers, the third hypothesis, then, is:

H3: Females and males will be framed differently in tennis photographs, with photos concentrating on the bodies of female tennis players and the faces of male tennis players.

Framing is the depth to which the subject is depicted in a photograph. In this study, a frame will include either an athlete's entire body or part of it. This deviates slightly from the face-ism index of Archer (1978) and Sparks and Fehlner (1986), in which photos were coded as concentrating

on an individual's face if the face took up more than half of the space of the photo. However, since sports photos concentrate on the action of the competitor and not on his or her face, the change in the operationalization was necessary. Indeed, only two of the 172 AP photos (one of a female player and one of a male player) met the requirements of the original face-ism index.

Differences in the depictions of male and female tennis players are expected for all three variables: emotion, vulnerability, and framing. Since gender stereotypes have been found in other media, stereotypes should be even more obvious in the content of sports photos. As Spender (1980) notes, throughout society men have been in the position to "structure the structures" and therefore have had the opportunity to construct the myth of male superiority. This should be especially evident in sports, where male athletes have long dominated sports coverage in newspapers. This bias toward quantity of coverage also should appear in the quality of coverage.

Furthermore, tennis offers photographers the opportunity to capture women in emotional and vulnerable poses. For example, because there are many breaks in the action, photographers have many opportunities to portray a tennis player as reacting emotionally to a sensational play. Similarly, because tennis stresses quickness, photographers have many opportunities in tennis to capture players in

vulnerable poses, struggling out of control to reach the ball.

Finally, if the size of an athlete's face in a photograph is a sign of power, as Goffman (1976) suggests, and women are stereotyped as being inferior to men physically, photographers should depict men in closeups more often than women. Furthermore, according to Archer et. al (1978), people naturally concentrate on men's faces and women's bodies as a recognition process. Photographers, then, subconsciously will frame men and women differently.

METHOD

This study examined two data sets. The first included photographs sent over the Associated Press laserphoto wire. The second included photographs used by eight newspapers. The design allows for the examination of the stereotyping process at two stages: first, after passing through the "gate" of the AP wire and, second, after passing through the final "gate" of the sports editor.

Every photograph that the Associated Press sent over its laserphoto wire from the 1987 Wimbledon tennis tournament and that the Austin (Texas) American-Statesman received was collected for analysis in this study. Wimbledon is arguably the premier tennis tournament in the world, and American photographers routinely cover it for AP -- as was the case in 1987. AP photos were used because they are the most widely distributed of all wire photos. According to the accompanying

captions, the photographs were taken by seven different photographers, all of whom were male. All of the seven photographers took at least one photo of a male player and one photo of a female player.

The sport of tennis was chosen for the study because of similarities in rules, style of play and athletic ability of female and male athletes. Tennis also offered an advantage over some of the other sports in which both males and females compete: unlike golf or basketball, men and women play at the same site at the same time and therefore are covered by the same photographers.

Three photographs were eliminated from the study because they did not involve any tennis competitor; two depicted the crowd during a rain delay and one showed the scoreboard. The remaining photos -- 172 in all -- were included in the final analysis.

After the captions were removed to eliminate any potential effect they might have on coding, the photos were randomly numbered from 1 to 172 and distributed to four coders -- two males and two females. Each photo was coded in four different ways. First, the photo was coded whether the photo contained a female or male athlete. Second, the photo was coded whether or not the athlete's face showed emotion. Third, the photo was coded whether or not the athlete was shown in a vulnerable position. Fourth, the photo was coded whether or not it included the entire body of the athlete.

Coders were given explicit directions on the coding of the variables. If the athlete's face was depicted as being surprised, agitated, grimacing or in any other emotional state, coders were instructed to code the photo as containing an emotional competitor. If the athlete was depicted as overpowered, out of control, struggling or in a pose implying defeat or helplessness, coders were instructed to code the photo as containing a vulnerable competitor. If any part of the athlete's body was outside the frame of the photo, coders were instructed to code the photo as containing a partial body. At least three coders agreed on each code for all the photos. The consensus was used as the final score on each variable. A few examples of photographs used in the study are included in Appendix A.

Intercoder reliability was high on all variables. The athlete's gender and framing variable produced perfect reliability (1.0). Reliability for emotion was .95 and for vulnerability was .90. There was no significant difference between female and male coders.

The photos then were separated according to the sex of the athlete depicted. Scores on the variables were entered into the University of Texas IBM main-frame computer and chi-squares were computed to determine if differences between the sexes of the athletes in the pictures existed on the three variables.

Next, photos used by eight newspapers (The New York Times, Chicago Tribune, Washington Post, Atlanta Journal and Constitution, Dallas Morning News, Houston Post, Louisville Courier-Journal and Nashville Tennessean) were examined. According to Editor & Publisher Yearbook for 1987, the eight newspapers in the study have a combined daily circulation of 3,974,688. The photographs from the eight newspapers were compared to the AP photos which had been collected and coded earlier. The earlier codes for each photograph were used to determine if the editors at each newspaper used photographs which depicted female tennis players more often than male tennis players in emotional, vulnerable or less powerful states.

Only AP photos were used for this second analysis, since photos from other news services were not coded in the first stage. A total of 26 photos from other news services were used by the eight newspapers in the study and therefore were eliminated. None of the AP photos use by the newspapers in the study made any noticeable changes through cropping.

Again, scores for each photo, as determined by the earlier coding, were entered into the IBM computer and chi-squares computed. This second grouping included 204 photographs.

The design of this study, then, helped to pinpoint where to place the blame for any stereotypes which might appear in the photos: with the photographers who took the

photos at the event and the AP editor who sent the photos over the wire, or with the sports editors who made the final decision on which pictures their newspapers would run.

RESULTS

Of the 172 AP photographs examined in the study, 109 (or 63.4 percent) were of male tennis players and 63 (36.6 percent) were of female tennis players. Of the 204 photographs used by the eight newspapers in the study, 124 (or 60.8 percent) were of male tennis players and 80 (39.2 percent) were of female tennis players. The concentration on male athletes suggests an overall bias in coverage by both photographers and sports editors.

Because of the two data sets used, the study essentially had two tests for each hypothesis. The chi-squares computed for the three hypotheses produced some rather unusual results.

According to the first hypothesis, female tennis players were expected to be depicted in emotional states more often than male tennis players. Not only did the data from the AP photographs not support this hypothesis, but the opposite was found. Male tennis players actually were shown with emotional facial expressions more often than women. Of the AP photographs depicting male tennis players, 67 (61.5 percent) were coded as showing athletes with emotional expressions while 42 (38.5 percent) were coded as showing athletes with no emotion. Of the AP photographs depicting

female tennis players, however, only 26 (41.3 percent) had athletes with emotional expressions while 37 (58.7 percent) had athletes with no emotion. Table 1 shows the frequencies and percentages of emotional and nonemotional photographs for male and female tennis players in the AP photographs. The chi-square is 6.56 ($p = .01$).

Photographs run by the eight newspapers in the study, on the other hand, showed no difference between male and female tennis players on the emotion variable. Of these newspaper photos depicting male athletes, 89 (71.8 percent) showed athletes with emotional expressions while 35 (28.2 percent) showed athletes with no emotion. Of the newspaper photographs depicting female tennis players, 63 (78.7 percent) were coded as showing athletes with emotion while 17 (21.2 percent) were coded as showing athletes with no emotion. Table 2 shows the frequencies and percentages of emotional and nonemotional photographs for male and female tennis players in the newspaper photographs. The chi-square is 1.24 ($p > .05$).

The second hypothesis predicted that female tennis players would be depicted in vulnerable positions more often than male tennis players. Again, the AP photos differed from the newspaper photos. This time, the AP photos produced no significant differences on the vulnerability while the newspaper photos did significantly differ between the sexes.

In the AP photos, male athletes were coded as being shown in vulnerable positions 70 times (64.2 percent) and in nonvulnerable positions 39 times (35.8 percent). Female athletes were coded as being shown in vulnerable positions 38 times (60.3 percent) and in nonvulnerable positions 25 times (39.7 percent). Table 3 shows the frequencies and percentages of vulnerable and nonvulnerable athletes in AP photographs for male and female tennis players. The chi-square is .260 ($p > .05$).

In the newspaper photos, however, women were depicted as being vulnerable more often than men. Male athletes were coded as being shown in vulnerable positions 66 times (53.2 percent) and in nonvulnerable positions 58 times (46.8 percent). Female athletes were coded as being shown in vulnerable positions 54 times (67.5 percent) and in nonvulnerable positions 26 times (32.5 percent). Table 4 shows the frequencies and percentages of vulnerable and nonvulnerable athletes in newspaper photographs for male and female tennis players. The chi-square is 4.09 ($p = .04$).

Finally, the third hypothesis predicted that female tennis players would be framed differently than male tennis players, with photographers concentrating on the body of women and the faces of men. The framing variable, however, produced results opposite to those expected for both groups of photographs. Both the AP and newspaper photos concentrated on the faces of women and the bodies of men.

For AP photographs depicting males, 64 (58.7 percent) contained the entire body of the athlete while 45 (41.3 percent) contained only part of the body. For AP photographs depicting females, 25 (39.7 percent) contained the entire body of the athlete while 38 (60.3 percent) contained only part of the body. Table 5 shows the frequencies and percentages of AP photographs showing the full body and partial body of competitors. The chi-square is 5.79 ($p = .02$)

For newspaper photographs depicting males, 52 (41.9 percent) contained the entire body of the athlete while 72 (58.1 percent) contained only part of the body. For newspaper photographs depicting females, 13 (16.2 percent) contained the entire body of the athlete while 67 (83.7 percent) contained only part of the body. Table 6 shows the frequencies and percentages of newspaper photographs showing the full body and partial body of competitors. The chi-square is 14.78 ($p = .001$)

DISCUSSION

The two sets of photographs from the 1987 Wimbledon tennis tournament which were examined in the study showed some marked differences in regard to how they depicted female and male athletes. Table 7 sums up the results of each test for each of the variables for both data sets. The findings are very complex.

According to the first hypothesis, female tennis players were expected to be depicted in emotional states more often than male tennis players. The hypothesis is not supported by either the AP photos or the newspaper photos.

In the AP tennis photographs, males actually were depicted in emotional states more often than females. This finding could have a number of possible explanations.

First, male tennis players could have been depicted in emotional states more often than females because the photographers were concentrating on men's faces, as suggested by the "face-ism" concept. If photographers were concentrating on men's faces, they naturally would take photographs of men with emotional facial expressions. The findings on the framing variable, however, contradicts this explanation. Photographers did not concentrate on men's faces and women's bodies.

Second, the male athletes simply could have been displaying more emotion during the Wimbledon tennis tournament than the female athletes. In other words, the photographers could have been capturing the personality of the male players who just happened to show more emotion during their matches. This seems unlikely, since the top-seeded male player, Ivan Lendl, has been often criticized for being an extremely unemotional player (Axthelm, 1987; Maisel, 1986). Furthermore, the athlete who is perhaps the most emotional tennis player, Jimmy Connors, was depicted more

often as being unemotional (12 photographs) than he was as being emotional (8).

Third, because male tennis players in general, and the top-seeded player in particular, are unemotional, perhaps photographers were depicting male athletes with emotional expressions because it was an unusual circumstance. Possibly, after watching play after play with the male athletes in dull, expressionless poses, photographers may have seen the few emotional outbursts by the male players as unusual and therefore newsworthy. The data on the Connors' photos supports the argument that the photographers were capturing the unusual. Photographers captured Connors more often in nonemotional poses even though he is very emotional.

Finally, the matches involving male players may have been more emotional than the matches involving female players. Indeed, the top-seeded Lendl was upset by Pat Cash in the Wimbledon final. The top-seeded woman, Martina Navratilova, easily won the woman's title. Nevertheless, whatever the reason, the finding suggests that the photographers are not reinforcing the stereotype that women are more emotional than men.

Sports editors, on the other hand, used a similar number of emotional photographs of both males and females. While on the one hand, this finding suggests sports editors did not discriminate in their selection of emotional expressions of athletes in the photographs they used, the results do suggest

that sports editors "over-sampled" emotional photographs of women. They did not use the same percentage of emotional photographs as the wire sent. Had they used similar types of photographs which AP sent to the newspapers, the sports editors would have used more photos depicting men in emotional states than photos depicting women in emotional states. In other words, from the pool of photos the AP wire sent to the newspapers, sports editors over-selected photographs depicting emotional women.

The results also show that photographers did not depict women in vulnerable positions more often than men. This finding suggests that the sports photographers through their lenses viewed women and men similarly at Wimbledon. A photograph depicting an athlete struggling to return a shot, or downtrodden after losing a match, is equally eye-catching, whether the athlete involved is female or male. Again, the stereotype that women are more vulnerable than men was not reinforced in the AP tennis photos.

Sports editors, however, again over-selected photos of women in vulnerable poses from the pool of photos sent by AP. The finding suggests sports editors are reinforcing the stereotype that women are more vulnerable than men. Photos used by the eight newspapers in the study showed women, more often than men, as being overpowered, out of control, struggling or in a pose implying defeat or helplessness.

By portraying women in a vulnerable light, sports editors are giving readers the impression that women are less athletically inclined than men. This mistaken impression could carry over into future editorial decisions regarding female and male athletes.

Finally, the results show that neither the photographers at Wimbledon nor sports editors at the eight newspapers in the study concentrated on women's bodies and men's faces. In fact, the photographers and editors appear to have done the opposite -- concentrating on men's bodies and women's faces.

Again, the top-seeded Lendl could explain this finding. As Archer et al. (1978) suggest, people naturally concentrate on men's faces and women's bodies as a recognition process. Lendl, however, has a very distinctive body shape; he is tall and slender, unlike most male athletes who have stocky, muscular bodies. Photographers, then, could have concentrated on Lendl's body because it is easily recognizable.

The photographs support this notion. Of the 27 AP photographs which included Lendl, 17 (63 percent) showed his entire body while 10 (37 percent) showed only part of his body -- even larger differences than those of all male tennis players in the study.

The unexpected differences in framing also could be due to the coding scheme. Coders were asked to code whether or not the photograph contained the athlete's entire body. Since only two photos in the study showed the athletes' face

taking up more than half the photo, this was a logical coding scheme. However, photographers could still have been concentrating on the female body; the photos depicting part of the female athletes' bodies could have pictured the players from the knees up, while the photos depicting part of the male athletes' bodies could have pictured the players from waist up.

Whatever the explanation, however, the findings again suggest that gender stereotypes were not reinforced through the tennis photographs. Men were not depicted as being powerful more often than women were through the framing of photographs. In fact, it was the female players who appeared more powerful because of the framing of the AP and newspaper photographs.

The overall results of the study suggest that, though differences exist between photo coverage of female and male tennis players, photographers in the study did not seem to be reinforcing gender stereotypes. The results further suggest that sports editors, though their gatekeeping function, may indeed be reinforcing gender stereotypes which photographers apparently are avoiding.

Sports editors, then, should re-evaluate their editorial judgments as to what constitutes a good photograph. Hidden beneath their selections could be gender stereotypes which are reinforcing archaic notions of differences between the sexes.

APPENDIX

Examples of Associated Press photographs of players at the 1987 Wimbledon tennis tournament used in the study.

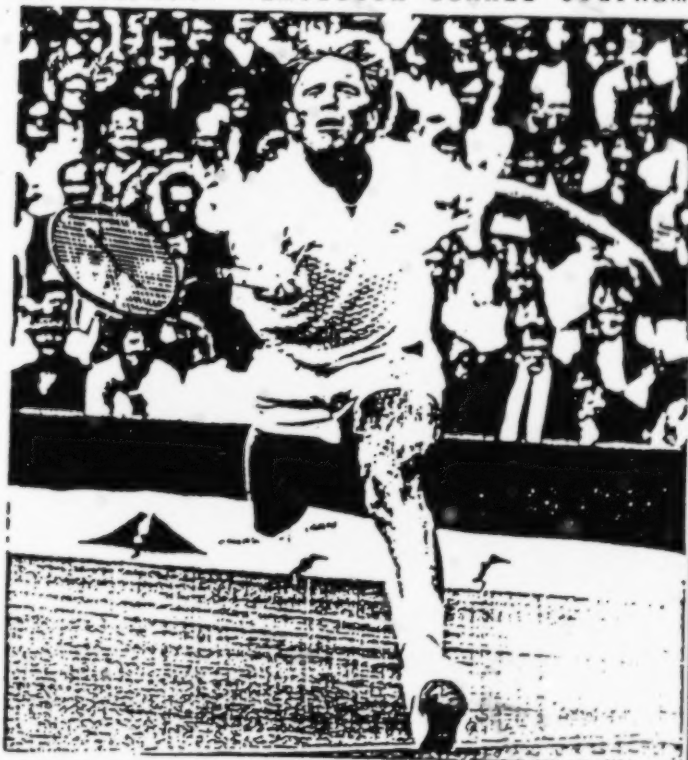


Photo Number 5:
Coded as Emotional,
Vulnerable and
Full Body



Photo Number 119:
Coded as Emotional,
Nonvulnerable and
Partial Body



Photo Number 34:
Coded as Emotional,
Vulnerable and
Partial Body



Photo Number 87:
Coded as Nonemotional,
Nonvulnerable and
Full Body

Table 1

The frequencies and percentages of participants appearing emotional and nonemotional in Associated Press photographs of male and female players at the 1987 Wimbledon Tennis Championships.

	Male Players	Female Players	Total
Emotional Participant	67 39.0% 72.0% 61.5%	26 15.1% 28.0 41.3%	93 54.1%
Nonemotional Participant	42 24.4% 53.2% 38.5%	37 21.5% 47.8% 58.7%	79 45.9%
Total	109 63.4%	63 36.6%	

Chi-square: 6.56
p = .01

NOTE: Numbers in cells are:
Frequency
Total Percent
Row Percent
Column Percent

Table 2

The frequencies and percentages of participants appearing emotional and nonemotional in newspaper photographs of male and female players at the 1987 Wimbledon Tennis Championships.

	Male Players	Female Players	Total
Emotional Participant	89 43.6% 58.6% 71.8%	63 30.9% 41.4 78.7%	152 74.5%
Nonemotional Participant	35 17.2% 67.3% 28.2%	17 8.3% 32.7% 21.2%	52 25.5%
Total	124 60.8%	80 39.2%	

Chi-square: 1.25
p > .05

NOTE: Numbers in cells are:
Frequency
Total Percent
Row Percent
Column Percent

Table 3
The frequencies and percentages of participants appearing vulnerable and nonvulnerable in Associated Press photographs of male and female players at the 1987 Wimbledon Tennis Championships.

	Male Players	Female Players	Total
Vulnerable Participant	70 40.7% 64.8% 64.2%	38 22.1% 35.2 60.3%	108 62.8%
Nonvulnerable Participant	39 22.7% 60.9% 35.8%	25 14.5% 39.1% 39.7%	64 37.2%
Total	109 63.4%	63 36.6%	

Chi-square: .260
p > .05

NOTE: Numbers in cells are:
Frequency
Total Percent
Row Percent
Column Percent

Table 4

The frequencies and percentages of participants appearing vulnerable and nonvulnerable in newspaper photographs of male and female players at the 1987 Wimbledon Tennis Championships.

	Male Players	Female Players	Total
Vulnerable Participant	66 32.4% 55.0% 53.2%	54 26.5% 45.0% 67.5%	120 58.8%
Nonvulnerable Participant	58 28.4% 69.0% 46.8%	26 12.7% 31.0% 32.5%	84 41.2%
Total	124 60.8%	80 39.2%	

Chi-square: 4.09

p = .04

NOTE: Numbers in cells are:

Frequency

Total Percent

Row Percent

Column Percent

Table 5

The frequencies and percentages of photographs showing a participant's full body or partial body in Associated Press photos of male and female players at the 1987 Wimbledon Tennis Championships.

	Male Players	Female Players	Total
Full Body of Participant	64 37.2% 71.9% 58.7%	25 14.5% 28.1% 39.7%	89 51.7%
Partial Body of Participant	45 26.2% 54.2% 41.3%	38 22.1% 45.8% 60.3%	83 48.3%
Total	109 63.4%	63 36.6%	

Chi-square: 5.79
p = .02

NOTE: Numbers in cells are:
Frequency
Total Percent
Row Percent
Column Percent

Table 6

The frequencies and percentages of photographs showing a participant's full body or partial body in newspaper photos of male and female players at the 1987 Wimbledon Tennis Championships.

	Male Players	Female Players	Total
Full Body of Participant	52 25.5% 80.0% 41.9%	13 6.4% 20.0% 16.2%	139 68.1%
Partial Body of Participant	72 35.3% 51.8% 58.1%	67 32.8% 48.2% 83.7%	65 31.9%
Total	124 60.8%	80 39.2%	

Chi-square: 14.77
p = .001

NOTE: Numbers in cells are:
Frequency
Total Percent
Row Percent
Column Percent

Table 7

Results of the six chi-squares testing the differences between male and female tennis players on the three variables in the two data sets.

Photo setEmotion variable

AP

Men more emotional

Newspapers

No difference

Photo setVulnerability variable

AP

No difference

Newspapers

Women more vulnerable

Photo setFraming variable

AP

Women more often in partial body frames

Newspapers

Women more often in partial body frames

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